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(ILGWU)

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Justice (Vol. 8, Iss. 21)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ILGWU, labor unions, clothing workers, textile workers, garment workers, garment industry, New York, United States

Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."
—Job 27:8

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers
of the world
unite! You
have nothing to
lose but your
chains."

Vol. VIII. No. 21.

NEW YORK, N. Y. FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1926

PRICE 3 CENTS

Cutters Strike in Warner Brothers Corset Factory

Women Operators May Join

The cutters of the Bridgeport corset factory of Warner Bros., one of the blessed in the country, went out on strike last week in protest against the firm's laying off of a large number of their cutting staff during the slow period.

The cutters of the Warner shop who number 25 men, insisted on equal distribution of work for all the men in the cutting room. The firm refused and offered to employ five men instead during the fall. The women workers in several of the other departments joined the cutters.

The cutters are all members of Local 24 of Bridgeport. If the firm will persist in its obstinacy and will not reinstate the laid-off cutters, the Eastern Department of the I. L. G. W. U., which supervises the activity of the Connecticut locals, will make an effort to call out all the workers of the shop

Governor's Mediators Issue Final Recommendations

Propose Wage Scale Increases, Limitation of Sub-Manufacturers for Jobbers, Extension of Union's Right to Examine Employers' Books, Direct Payment of Unemployment Insurance by Sub-Manufacturers, Establishment of Employment Office, Strict Enforcement of Union Shop, Rigid Application of Pro-sanis Label and a Permanent Bureau of Research—Suggest Limited Right of Shop Reorganization by Employers.

At press time, we received a copy of the long awaited final recommendations issued by the Governor's Advisory Commission in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry of New York. This report bears the date mark of May 20, 1926, and is signed by George Gordon Battle, chairman, Lindsay Rogers, secretary, and Bernard L. Shlesinger, Herbert H. Lehman and Arthur D. Wolf.

Final Recommendations of the Commission in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry, New York City

May 20, 1926

The Governor's Advisory Commission

The parties in interest appearing on the are the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers, Inc., the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, and the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association.

We reprint this report verbatim, without comment, as follows:

Governor's Advisory Commission in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry, New York City

sion in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry of New York City was appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith on June 16, 1924. Contracts between the various parties had expired on June (Continued on page 3)

Joint Board Appoints Pre-Strike Committee

Takes Advance Action to Mobilize Preliminary Machinery.—Meeting of Active Workers of Local 2 Held Last Monday.

With only a few days left before the final recommendations are rendered by the Special Commission in the New York Cloak Industry with regard to the demands of the Union and the counter-demands of the employers' associations, the atmosphere in cloak circles in the New York market is tense with expectation and an air of

strange to say, however, it is the employers, as evidenced by the almost daily statements issued by their attorneys and spokesmen, that are displaying the greater amount of nervousness and tension, while the workers, and their organizations, the International Union and the Joint Board, though intensely interested in the outcome, seem to treat the development of the controversy with much greater composure and self-control.

Thus, while the lawyers and managers of the Industrial Council and of the jobbers' association continue to broadcast in the trade papers that (Continued on Page 2)

Designers Have Big Meeting This Saturday

Bro. Adolph Schick, manager of Local 45, the designers' union of New York, announces another big meeting of all New York designers for this Saturday, May 22nd, at the Pennsylvania Hotel, Room 5, at 2:30 p. m.

It will be recalled that on May 8th, at a heavily attended meeting, the designers voted in principle for a general strike of the designers in the women's wear industries. A committee of 25 was elected at that meeting to prepare a detailed plan for the strike.

At the meeting next Saturday, this special committee, acting jointly with the executive board of the local, will report on the strike plans. Several of the leading officers of the New York Joint Board will be present at the meeting and will discuss the designers' demands and their prospective strike.

Every designer in the industry is called upon to leave everything aside and come to the meeting this Saturday. The time is ripe for action; every person in the trade who is manly enough to stand up and fight for his right, will now be called upon to take his place in the line of combat. The designers must not any longer be considered as the scapegoats of the ladies' wear industry.

Cloak Jobbers Reported Rushing Winter Stocks

International Office Receives Information Many Jobbers Are Speeding Manufacture of Advance Winter Stocks in Sub-Shops.—President Sigman, After Conference With Vice-President Hyman, Announces Steps Will Be Taken at Once to Check Scheme.

The office of the International has obtained authentic information to the effect that several of the large jobbing cloak firms in New York City, in an attempt to defeat any move the Union might make to enforce its demands before the beginning of the coming season, have started to make up winter orders in a number of sub-manufacturing shops controlled by them. These operations are being kept, it was further reported, well under cover, in order not to arouse suspicion on the part of the workers' organization.

After having learned about it, President Sigman at once conferred with Brother Louis Hyman, the general manager of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board, and as a result the business

agents of the Joint Board were instructed to visit all sub-manufacturing shops to obtain full reports of employed workers so as to afford the Unemployment Insurance Office an opportunity to begin making insurance payments on or about June 15.

Simultaneously, the business agents will be instructed to investigate such shops where winter stocks are already being manufactured so that steps might be taken to put at once a stop to it.

Union members are also called upon to shun all non-union shops where they might be offered some "special" jobs during the slack period. Such action will be treated as downright seditious and would have the offenders open to severe fines.

Unity House Will Open on June 18

Registration Begins June 1st in I. L. G. W. U. Building

The big Unity estate in the Blue Ridge hills of Pennsylvania, known among our members and throughout the Labor movement as the "Unity House," will open its doors for the coming 1926 summer season on Friday, June 18th, with a splendid concert, in which several first-rate artists will take part.

The registration office, which is already organized under the management of Miss Esther Friedman, will formally open its books for registration on June 1st. The Unity House this year is even in better shape than it was last year and will give its guests the maximum of satisfaction. The Unity House Committee is sparing no effort to assure the visitors the best of food, recreation, cleanliness and comfortable housing.

A big season is expected, and it would be advisable for "Justice" readers who intend to spend their vacation at Unity House this year to put in their reservation in time. As always the motto at Unity is—first come, first served.

Sanitary Joint Board and Prosanis Label Formally Launched in Boston

Mrs. Alvan T. Fuller, Wife of Governor of Massachusetts, Initiated As Honorary Member of Union, Sews Prosanis Label on Garments in Three Leading Boston Cloak and Dress Shops.—Vice-President Hochman in Charge of Impressive Ceremony.—Mayor of Boston and Large Group of Leading Citizens Attend.—Dr. Henry Moskowitz of New York Health Control Board Speaks.—Permanent Director for Boston Board Appointed.

An impressive ceremony that will long linger in the minds of those who witnessed it attended last Friday morning, May 7th, the formal introduction of a joint board of sanitary control and of the "Prosanis" label in all women's garment shops in Boston, carried out under the auspices of a joint committee of representatives

of the public, the Boston I. L. G. W. U. locals, and of the manufacturers' associations.

The climax of the ceremony occurred, when Mrs. Alvan T. Fuller, the wife of the Governor of Massachusetts, after being presented an honorary membership card in the union and with shop cards permitting her to work in union shops, sewed on the union health "Prosanis" label to a dress in the presence of a distinguished group of Boston citizens, in the shop of Saul F. Matthews, 15 Kneeland Street. From the Matthews shop, Mrs. Fuller went up one flight to the coat shop of Carnellie & Collins, where she seated herself between several girls at work upon coats and sewed a label onto a coat. From 15 Kneeland Street, Mrs. Fuller went with the representatives of the union, the manufacturers, and the Joint Board of Sanitary Control to the J. Rubin Dress and Coat Company at 634 Washington Street, where she inspected conditions of sanitation and safety.

Boston Mayor Welcomes Sanitary Board and Label

The ceremony at the shops concluded, a luncheon was held at the Boston City Club in honor of the new board of sanitary control. Mayor Nichols of Boston, delivered at this luncheon an address of welcome to the institution of a joint sanitary and health agency in the Boston women's wear market, the result largely of the efforts of the workers' organization. Other speakers at the luncheon were (Continued on Page 2)

Sanitary Joint Board and Prosanis Label Formally Launched in Boston

(Continued from Page 1)

Prof. William Z. Ripley of Harvard, the chairman of the joint sanitary board. Mrs. Lela R. Rantoul of the Boston Women's Trade Union League, Edward J. Frost of Filene's, Mrs. Robert L. De Normandie of the Massachusetts League of Women Voters, Edward Ingraham of the Consumers' League, Vice president Julius Hochman of the I. L. O. W. U., and Dr. Henry Moskowitz of the New York Joint Board of Sanitary Control. Dr. Moskowitz delivered a very impressive talk on the history and activities of the New York board for the past sixteen years which was listened to with keen attention by all present.

The workers at the luncheon were represented by Julius Hochman, David Godes and Ben Kurland, chairman of the Boston Joint Board.

Label Introduced in All Shops

Vice-president Julius Hochman later announced that the "Prosanis" label has already been introduced in all shops and that the work of the new sanitary joint board is fully under way. The initiation ceremony of the label and of the sanitary board, which was featured prominently on the front pages of all the Boston dailies, created a big impression throughout New England and made wonderful publicity for the newly introduced health and sanitation factors in the Boston market.

Vice-president Hochman made a further announcement that the headquarters of the Boston Joint Board of Sanitary Control are permanently established at 315 Little Building, 80 Boylan Street, and that Miss Myriam Sieve was appointed as permanent director of the board.

Joint Board Names Pre-Strike Committee

(Continued from Page 1)

under no circumstance would they be ready to accept any recommendation that might be made by the Commission that is likely to change the present "order" in the trade and would add any new "burdens" upon their already "overloaded shoulders", the Union is going about its way in preparing quietly though efficiently for the coming emergency. The Joint Board, trusting to no chance, has already had a meeting about ten days ago with all shop cloak chairmen, at which the prospects of a near struggle in the industry were discussed, and where the Joint Board received the authorization of the shop heads to mobilize its forces against the responsibility of such an event. On Monday, May 17, a large meeting that filled Manhattan Lyceum, 68 East 4th St., to capacity with active members of

Local 2, the cloak operators, discussed preparatory work for the coming strike and started an enrollment of all wide-awake elements in the union for strike duty.

Joint Board Appoints Pre-Strike Committee

At its last meeting, on Friday, May 14, in pursuance of those tactics of steady and systematic preparation, the Joint Board, acting upon the recommendation of its Board of Directors, appointed a special committee consisting of all local managers and of five Joint Board delegates, in addition to the chief officers of the Joint Board, charging it with the preparation of a machinery for the coming strike.

The committee is composed of Sister Perlman and Brothers Hyman, Fish, Steinsor, Cooper, Fankin, Kudrinsky and Molisani.

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Unemployment Insurance Fund Starts Suit Against Two Cloak Jobbing Firms

Suit Commenced to Collect Money Due to Out-of-Work Fund.—
Actions to Be Started Against Several Other Firms.

Arthur D. Wolf, chairman of the board of trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund of the cloak industry, announced last Wednesday that in accordance with the authorization given at the last meeting by the board of trustees, he had instituted court proceedings against two firms in order to collect the amounts which, he said, are owing to the fund.

Summons and complaints have been served upon Branson Bros., 501 7th Avenue and Karl Light, 142 West 34th Street. Both of these firms are jobbers and were formerly members of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association.

Suits are also in the course of preparation against other firms and announcement of these additional court actions will be made shortly.

The attorney for the chairman of the insurance fund is Sidney Rosman.

The action taken by the fund follows an announcement some time ago that the trustees were determined to start court action against those firms which persistently evaded their obligations to the fund.

Action had been delayed, it was stated by the trustees, because there was no desire to press matters during the busy season.

Meanwhile, in the past month a drive to collect back payments was begun by the executives of the fund, and many firms that had up to then been delinquent, made good the amounts due.

The filing of the suits precedes the period when insurance payments begin to fall due.

With the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board

By JOSEPH FISHL,
Secretary-Treasurer.

A meeting of the Joint Board was held on Friday, May 14, 1926 at the Auditorium of the International, 3 W. 16th Street.

Communications:

Local No. 2 informs the Board that their Executive Board decided, after due consideration, to dispose of the matter brought up by Brother Steinsor regarding Brother Moskowitz, an executive board member who is serving in the Organization Department, as soon as the conditions in the New York industry in connection with the strike will be settled. They are convinced that Brother Moskowitz cannot at present be released from that Department.

Local No. 48 approved the minutes of the Joint Board of May 7th, excepting the decision to reject Business Agent Berkowitz's resignation. They maintain that the decision of the convention at Philadelphia placed the business agents under the jurisdiction of the local unions and this matter should therefore have been referred directly to Local No. 3.

The Russian-Polish Branch requests that a committee be appointed to act as an Objection Committee in their coming elections.

Brother Colow and Kudrinsky are appointed in the committee.

Secretary-Treasurer Fish reports that the following telegram and cable were sent to the Amalgamated Convention at Montreal and the English strikers:

May 12, 1926

"Seventh Biennial Convention,
"Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America,
"Mt. Royal Hotel,
"Montreal, Que., Canada.

"Accept fraternal greetings. May the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood guide you in all your endeavors. We

hope that your convention will favor amalgamation of needle trade unions.

JOINT BOARD, CLOAK & DRESS
MAKERS' UNION
LOUIS HYMAN, Gen. Mgr.
JOSEPH FISHL, Sec.-Treas.

(The cable sent by the Joint Board to England was printed in "Justice" of May 14).

The recommendation of the Board of Directors that a committee of five and the Local Managers begin preparing the machinery for the coming strike, is approved and the following are appointed in the committee:

Sister Perlman, and Brothers Hyman, Fish, Steinsor, Cooper, Fankin, Kudrinsky and Molisani.

Brother Hyman is appointed to represent the Joint Board at the national conference called for Saturday and Sunday, May 15th and 16th in Washington by the Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born Citizens.

General Manager's Reports

Brother Hyman reports that the Governor's Commission will render its decision next week.

He recommends that the money at present in the Unemployment Insurance Fund be paid to the workers preceding the calling of the strike.

The recommendation is approved.

The Joint Board also decides that the Managers of the Dreamakers' Locals devise ways and means of disposing the money in the Fund.

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Governor's Commission Makes Final Report

(Continued from Page 1)

1st; the inside manufacturers had disbanded their Industrial Department; the Union had presented a series of demands which the jobbers and manufacturers refused to accept, and the industry seemed to be threatened with disruption. Governor Smith was asked to intervene, and to appoint a Commission to assist the parties in reaching an amicable adjustment of the differences between them.

The Commission was appointed in June, and in July, after extended hearings, made certain preliminary recommendations and promised an inquiry by experts into certain of the more complicated questions in dispute. Contracts were then negotiated with the Commission's approval, and were signed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and three associations—The Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association (representing the jobbers or stock houses); the Industrial Council of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association (representing the inside shops); and the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association (representing the sub-manufacturers). These collective agreements, with their enforcement guaranteed by the Associations, provided a measure of law and order, and an impartial machinery was set up to settle disputes which might arise between the organizations.

The investigation which the Commission promised was proceeded with, and its Report was published in the spring of 1925. Neither the adequacy nor the accuracy of this Report was challenged. Many a hostile comment had, upon the findings of the Report with respect to the complicated relations in the industry and upon new requests by the parties in interest for remedial recommendations by the Commission. Counsel filed elaborate briefs which carefully and ably set forth the views and contentions of the respective parties. Much light was thrown upon the organization of the industry and the various matters in controversy.

After careful deliberation, the Commission decided in June, 1925, to confine itself to certain ad interim recommendations. In spite of the elaborate nature of the Report of the Special Investigation, the voluminous stenographic record of the hearings, and the briefs of counsel, the Commission still felt that it desired to consider further and to have more discussion of certain of the problems confronting the industry—particularly those problems connected with the outside system of production. The Commission, therefore recommended the renewal of the contracts for one year and certain modifications in respect to the payment of unemployment insurance and several changes in the dealings between jobbers and sub-manufacturers—the institution of net yardage and the abolition of discounts. The Commission recommended the establishment of a Bureau of Research and various reports published under its auspices have thrown additional light on conditions in the industry.

The collective agreements are now about to expire and new ones must be negotiated. After a study of the industry which has covered two years, the Commission thinks that it is in a position to speak with some authority on certain of the existing evils as they appear to an impartial body, and to

recommend suitable reforms. In what the Commission is about to say, no attempt will be made to formulate recommendations that will be complete in their details or to draft clauses to be incorporated into contracts between the parties in interest. The Commission will analyze and express its opinion on the general situation and will make recommendations showing the manner in which the Commission thinks that the situation may be improved.

Past Achievements

The Cloak and Suit industry is one of the greatest in the state. The yearly value of the product in the Metropolitan district is more than a third of a billion dollars, and constitutes about four-fifths of the national output. In this metropolitan area more than 35,000 workers and 2,000 firms and corporations are engaged in the process of production.

The fundamental problems in the industry are extremely difficult and complicated. Undoubtedly, however, hope for the future may be found in the substantial achievements of the past.

A generation ago this was a sweatshop industry, characterized by the home labor of women and children, by unregulated hours, and by absence of sanitary standards, with an almost total lack of organization, and with abuses too numerous to be described. The building up of cohesive forces and institutions was most sorely needed and in a real measure it has been achieved.

At the present time about ninety per cent of the workers are organized in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Industrial Council (the inside manufacturers) has 184 members, representing more than 70 per cent of the inside production.

The Merchants' Ladies Garment Association has 127 members, representing fully 75 per cent of the business handled by jobbers.

The American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association has 847 members, representing more than 70 per cent of the business of sub-manufacturers.

All these organizations have been operating under collective agreements providing for the amicable adjustment of disputes. They have built up for this purpose an effective machinery, which for the past two years has been headed by a full-time impartial Chairman with final authority for the settlement of disputes arising under the collective agreements. One indication that this machinery has been working well is the fact that of thousands of complaints arising in the various shops in the course of a year, more than eighty-five per cent have been adjusted by the clerks and managers. Only the more difficult disputes have come up to the impartial Chairman, and in these cases the decisions have been accepted. In the meantime work in the shops affected has gone on without serious interruption.

As far back as 1916, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was created. This Board, as its name indicates, is managed and financed by cooperation of all the organized factors in the industry. It has done pioneer work in elab-

orating the sanitary standards of the industry and in promoting the health of the workers. Its methods of inspection and of research, and its efforts to prevent accidents and disease have served as models in this country and elsewhere. To the credit of the different factors in the industry be it said that, although the past fifteen years have been marked by discussions which at times reached the point of industrial warfare, they never lost interest in the work of this Board, but continued it without interruption under able impartial management and with increased facilities and greater opportunities for usefulness to the entire industry.

As has been said, the Governor's Advisory Commission has recommended various constructive measures which have been adopted by the parties. These included the abolition of fictitious discounts and other causes of friction existing between the jobbers and sub-manufacturers; the adoption of a sanitary label, the securing of a permanent impartial Chairman, and the establishment of an Unemployment Insurance Fund supported by workers and employers, which has already collected more than two million dollars. Surely, an industry that has grappled with so many problems and adopted so many important constructive measures may be expected to deal wisely with some of the difficulties which remain unsolved.

With the cooperation of all parties, this commission arranged for a study by experts of some of the most difficult problems in the industry. Their investigation and their Report were of a thorough and scientific character, throwing much light upon the situation. Last fall, at the suggestion of the Commission, a permanent Bureau of Research was established. This Bureau, in addition to other valuable services has brought the material of the Special Investigation down to date. The Commission's present analysis of conditions is based upon the results of the investigation and of the Bureau of Research, as well as upon the voluminous testimony given by representatives of the four organizations and upon the arguments and briefs of their counsel.

Growth of the Jobbing-Submanufacturing System

Owing to the style factor and to the multiplicity of producing units, the industry is of an inherently competitive and highly variable character. These characteristics during recent years have become more and more emphasized. Fashions in fabrics, colors and design have grown more diversified. Various factors have combined to make the ultimate purchaser of women's garments throughout the country more sensitive than formerly to current style changes. This fact, together with other factors such as the higher value of materials and trimming, has revolutionized the methods of the retailers. Where formerly a large proportion of orders were placed by retailers in advance, now they hold back till the last moment both for the purpose of tying up some of their capital and in order to be sure of getting only such materials

and styles as have established their popularity in the current season.

The effect of these tendencies has been to throw back upon an unregulated manufacturing market an enormous pressure for intense short season production, followed by months of stagnation. This unhealthy alternation of busy and idle seasons has been greatly accentuated by a structural change which has taken place during the past ten years in the system of production.

A decade ago the industry has risen out of the old sweatshop conditions in which much of the actual work had been done in tenement-house homes. Manufacturing had become concentrated in large "inside" shops under employers who were directly responsible both for manufacturing and for marketing the product. Since that time, however, there has been a gradual displacement of inside manufacturers by so-called jobbers. This has progressed to such a point that about two-thirds of the production now flows through the new jobbing-sub-manufacturing system.

This system has grown up partly as a device to escape labor responsibilities and partly as an adaptation to the newer methods of retail buying.

An inside manufacturer creates styles, employs a permanent complement of workers, and seeks, so far as possible, to get the actual work done from the retailers, placing his chief emphasis upon quality of production. The jobber in the cloak and suit industry differs from the jobber in other industries. Instead of merely being a wholesale distributor, he is an indirect manufacturer. He purchases his materials and then farms out the production to an elastic and shifting group of sub-manufacturers. He follows his instructions in their style. His emphasis is on mass production and on selling finished garments from the racks. While, through owning the cloth and through directing the flow of orders into the submanufacturing shops, the jobbers are the real capitalists in this large branch of the manufacturing process, they do not directly employ labor, and consider themselves free from responsibility for labor standards. Incidentally, they have no incentive for lengthening the season, for the manufacturing overhead is carried by the multitude of small sub-manufacturers, each with a little left and a few machines.

The sub-manufacturers, on the other hand, usually have no contact whatever with the retail trade. Their outlet is through the jobbers. They can not create a demand for their production. They have, for the most part, not enough capital to purchase materials. They seek work and materials from the jobbers. In soliciting orders from the jobbers, they compete with each other fiercely. This competition is intensified by another underlying cause. Any one of a few hundred orders from a jobber, sent in a small lot, get together a handful of workers who have been laid during the dull season, and throw himself into the competition for orders from the jobbers. Literally hundreds of such small shops are started, and hundreds are abandoned every year.

Evils of the Jobbing-Submanufacturing System

This outside system of production is fraught with waste to all concerned. Counting all the orders in the sub-manufacturing shops, there are several thousand men whose energies are mostly spent in going from one jobber to another in search of orders. Their shops are, for the most part, too small for well organized, systematic production methods. Yet in the aggregate they occupy an enormous amount of the space which is in constant use for only about six months out of the year.

The wastes involved in this system (Continued on Page 3)

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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MORRIS SIGMAN, President

A. BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

MAX D. DANISH, Editor

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* Report of a Survey of the Registration and Disbursement Office of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, by Morris Sigman, pp. 2-11.

** Report of a Survey of the Earnings of Workers, by Morris Sigman, pp. 12-19.

*** Report of an Investigation, by John P. Morgan and Morris Sigman, with special reference to certain matters in controversy before the Commission. (New York Evening Post Printing Office, pp. 20-1).

Final Recommendations by Governor's Special Commission

(Continued from page 3)

are distributed in various ways. Hundreds of these submanufacturing firms each year lose the small capital with which they have started, and often leave their creditors, including workers, in the lurch. The jobbers themselves have been suffering more and more through the cancellation of retail orders and the return of merchandise due to faulty workmanship, skimping in materials, and disregard of sizes and other specifications. The greatest burden of waste, however, falls upon the workers, through shortened seasons, and through substandard conditions of employment. As will be shown later on, conditions have grown up in this "outside" system of production which explain the growing dissatisfaction of the workers.

The conditions in the two systems of production in the industry—the inside and the outside systems—are entirely different, and it is therefore necessary to consider the separately and to make recommendations suitable to each. Unfortunately, the less responsible, and industrially less wholesome outside system at present accounts for about three-fourths of the total production.

Here, as has been said, the output is controlled by the jobbers who place the orders and whose capital, especially in the form of materials, is involved in the manufacturing process. The actual work, however, is done in submanufacturing shops, mostly small and of slender resources.

The Commission has heard abundant testimony from all the parties, showing the conditions prevailing in these shops. The competition in the market in the securing of orders throws upon them a cruel pressure out of all proportion to their powers of resistance.

Were this pressure felt only by the submanufacturers, the situation would not be so serious, and it might work its own cure through discouraging the perpetual opening up of new shops.

But the fact is that a large proportion of the submanufacturers succeed in shifting the burden on to the workers. The shops being small, there is a comparatively close relation between the firm and the workers. When work is scarce, as it usually is except for a few weeks in each season, the workers are told that in order to meet the exigencies of price competition and to bring some work into the shop, they must enter into secret arrangements contrary to the minimum labor standards which have been agreed upon, and which are pretty successfully enforced in the larger shops of the inside manufacturers.

These concessions by the workers take various forms. They chiefly involve wages, hours, rates of pay for overtime, work on holidays, and the substitution of piece work for pay by the hour. All this is done without the knowledge of the Union officials, and is frequently concealed in the books of the firm. Incidentally, it subjects the inside manufacturers to such unfair competition as tends to drive out legitimate manufacturing firms, leaving all except those producing garments of the most exclusive and expensive styles.

This is not all. The tendency has been for the size of these submanufacturing shops steadily to decrease and for their number to increase. The number grows from season to season, in spite of the fact that a great many submanufacturing shops go out of business every year and leave their workers without employment. More than in the inside shops is the work crowded into short and feverish seasons, with the fluctuations in the extent of employment from month to month proportionally acute.

The investigations of the Bureau to Research have shown this condition to have even more pronounced in 1925 than in 1924.

From the records of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, the Bureau of Research has made analysis of wages and periods of work in inside and submanufacturing shops during 1925. It appears that the workers in the submanufacturing shops worked during the year on an average the equivalent of 26.5 full weeks of employment, as against an average for the inside shops of 37.4 full weeks. The average per capita weekly earnings for the year of workers of all crafts in these outside shops was \$26.40, as against \$36.60 for the inside shops, while the average yearly earnings were \$1,374.60, as against \$1,756.60.

From an industrial point of view this is chaotic and demoralizing. Were it practicable, the workers would be justified in talking the stand that they would work only in inside shops and would refuse to work in outside shops, where they were removed from all direct contact with the owners of the capital involved. The so-called jobbing system of manufacture, however, has become so extensive and so firmly entrenched in the industry that such a stand would be impracticable.

There is no doubt that larger production units and a return, so far as possible, to inside manufacturing would be for the best interests of the industry, and of the consuming public as well. Every reasonable step should be taken that is calculated to stimulate a trend in this direction. We realize, however, that the practices which have developed in the course of a decade can not be changed overnight. We are immediately confronted with the question of the present jobbing-submanufacturing system, with which reference has been made and which demand prompt remedy. It would be folly to ignore this because a continuance of the present chaotic conditions in this branch of the industry spells ruin to all those who participate in it.

In determining the relationship between jobber, submanufacturer, and workers we should be concerned not so much with the form as with the substance. By whatever name he may call himself, the jobber controls working conditions; he controls employment, and that element of control imposes upon him the responsibility that he shall so conduct his business that proper working standards may be upheld instead of undermined, and that employment may be stabilized instead of demoralized.

The present method of doing business invites the splitting up of production units to a point which defies any real degree of supervision by the institutions in the industry, and which makes impossible the maintenance of any satisfactory standards of employment.

We appreciate that any remedy that is proposed must be reasonable, practicable, and possible of being carried into effect without a disruption of the industry. Hence, in this report, the Commission recommends that there be such structural modifications in the existing jobbing-submanufacturing system as would tend to regularize the flow of work into submanufacturing shops, raise the level of competition between submanufacturers, cause closer relations between jobbers and submanufacturers, and stabilize working conditions in the shops.

With this in view, we recommend that the parties adopt a system of limitation of submanufacturers with whom a jobber may do business. At definite intervals every jobber shall, in accordance with a standard to be agreed upon between the parties, se-

lect and designate the submanufacturers he needs to handle his production, leaving him the necessary freedom in securing samples and in changing submanufacturers for cause shown; he shall not give work to other submanufacturers when his designated submanufacturers are not busy, and shall adhere, so far as practicable, to a policy of equitable distribution of work among the submanufacturers of his "list." The administration of such a system would, as cases arise, be subject to equitable interpretation through the impartial machinery.

The foregoing recommendations are intended to apply as well to that part of the business of the members of the Industrial Council which is carried on in outside shops.

The scope of this proposal can be better understood if reference is made to some of the facts brought out a year ago by the Special Investigation. It should be remembered that while in this market there are only slightly more than 200 jobbers, they do a yearly business of about \$50,000,000, and have approximately 1,200 shops working for them. While there are, on an average, only six submanufacturing shops for each jobber, even the smallest jobber deals with many more. Large jobbers often deal with one hundred or more submanufacturers each. These surprising figures are partly due to a great discourtesy in the purchase of samples. They are further accounted for by the scattering of many small orders, and this would be materially checked under a system of limitation.

The investigation showed that in the case of jobbers whose records were examined, an average of \$6.3 per cent of the work for each jobber was turned out by an average of 15 per cent of the number of submanufacturers doing work for him during the year. This shows that even at present individual jobbers rely upon a comparatively small number of submanufacturers for the bulk of their output.

The Inside Shops

While the inside shops handle only about one-fourth of the production, their position in the industry is of the highest importance. In the matter of labor conditions they maintain standards which are largely enforced in their case and largely eroded in the outside system of production. In the matter of making effective institutions such as the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, the impartial machinery for the settlement of current disputes, and the Unemployment Insurance Fund, they do at least their full share.

From the labor point of view, the worst problem in connection with the inside shops is their tendency during late years to decrease both in size and in numbers. As has already been pointed out, they are in many cases subjected to unfair competition from the jobbing-submanufacturing system which disposes of its garments in the same national retail market.

An index to this situation can be found in the fact, shown by the Special Investigation, that from 1916 to 1924 the number of shops in the Manufacturers' Protective Association (now the Industrial Council) declined from 440 to 188, and their number of workers from 21,604 to 7,435. This means also a decline from 49 workers to 40 in the average size of an inside shop.

This is a serious matter for the workers is sufficiently shown by figures already cited. In the inside shops sanitary conditions are better. Abuses in the matter of hours and wages are infrequent, and grievances are more quickly reported and adjusted. Rates of pay average higher and, above all,

else in importance, the number of hours of work during the year averages 45 per cent greater than in the outside shop.

These facts are fully recognized by the Union, and every individual worker would prefer to be attached to an inside shop. Nothing would more directly benefit the workers than an increase in the number and size of the inside shops. With this end in view, it seems reasonable that there should be some relaxation in the application of existing regulations in regard to the tenure of employment. Under present conditions these regulations are becoming actually of less value to the workers as more and more of them are forced to seek employment in the outside system of production. In that system during last year 5,700 workers were thrown out of employment by the closing of shops to which they were attached. This is only slightly less than the total number employed in the shops of the Industrial Council, where there were 6,566 workers.

The Commission believes that there is urgent need that greater encouragement be given to the inside system of production and to larger production units throughout the industry. Firms will be more willing to increase the number of their workers if they have some assurance that they can make reasonable changes later on in response to the needs of their business.

The Commission recommends, therefore, that additional obligations be accorded in existing contracts, all manufacturing establishments having a regular force of thirty-five or more employees be given the right to reorganize their shops once a year at the beginning of a season, provided that it shall not in any one year cause a total displacement of more than ten per cent of the workers in the shop, that workers affected shall have either a week's notice or a week's pay, that there shall be no unfair discrimination, and that any workers displaced shall be replaced through the employment bureau. This right should be accorded only to establishments which are parties to the collective agreements and under the jurisdiction of the impartial machinery.

The Commission wishes to present to the parties in interest six general considerations affecting the industry as a whole:

(1) The Impartial Chairman

In the opinion of the Commission, one of the most important steps taken by the industry was the setting up of the impartial machinery. The selection of Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll as Impartial Chairman has proved to be most happy, and much of the peace and stability which the industry has enjoyed during the past year and a half has been due to his fairness and ability. In the opinion of the Commission, the Impartial Chairman should become a person of even greater influence and importance. He should be in close touch with all problems affecting the industry, and the Commission feels that much progress will be made if, in order to secure the jurisdiction of the Impartial Chairman, the Commission recommends that an accountant be permanently attached to the staff of the Impartial Chairman for the purpose of making, with or without notice or formal complaint, investigations under his direction in any establishment in the industry, in order to see whether the contracts entered into between the parties are being carried out.

(2) Unemployment Insurance

The establishment of an Unemployment Insurance Fund was, in the (Continued on page 5)

Final Recommendations by Governor's Special Commission

(Continued from Page 4)

opinion of the Commission, a great achievement. In a seasonal industry with inevitable periods of unemployment, insurance payments to unemployed workers are highly desirable. If, indeed, not absolutely necessary. Two years ago, upon the recommendation of the Commission, the parties to the collective agreements established an Unemployment Insurance Fund, to which workers were to contribute one per cent of their wages and employers two per cent of their weekly payroll. The Commission hopes that the Fund may increase in resources, and that as time goes on, more liberal payments may be made to unemployed workers.

Last summer, after a year's experience and because of the disproportionate demands made upon the Fund by workers in the outside system of production, it was decided to increase the contributions of employers in that branch of the industry to an approximate equivalent of three per cent. At the same time it was arranged that jobbers should make these payments directly into the Fund instead of having the payments made in the first instance by submanufacturers to be reimbursed later by the jobbers for whom they had done work.

While there seemed to be logic in asking the jobbers to discharge directly their obligations to the Fund, this change in the method of collection has not worked well. This is shown by the fact that since the change was made and down to the present time, jobbers have in the aggregate contributed a considerably less sum to the Fund than have the inside manufacturers, though the volume of their business is much greater.

While in theory the present method of collection may be fairer to the submanufacturers, it must be borne in mind that the Fund exists for the benefit of the workers. The Commission recommends that in the future submanufacturers should make insurance payments directly into the Fund, and at the same rates as are now collected from inside manufacturers, and that the submanufacturers in turn shall bill the jobbers separately at the rates in effect a year ago.

Labor Employment Bureau

De recommend the establishment of an employment office under the direction of the Trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Placements and replacements should be made through this employment office.

In an industry with distressing periods of unemployment it is particularly desirable that adequate machinery shall be set up to equalize the opportunities of workers and to act as a clearing house for placements and

replacements. Such an office, in the opinion of the Commission, would be a benefit to employers and workers alike, and could do much to reduce some of the harmful effects of the present periods of idleness.

(3) Increase in Minimum Wage Scales

An increase in the minimum wage scales was requested by the Union at the time of the appointment of the Commission in 1924. The Commission's supplementary recommendations of July 10, 1925, proposed "that in the new contracts, the several parties agree to accept a decision on this subject to be rendered by the Commission during the fall. This will be on the understanding that if any increase is then granted, it will go into effect for the spring season." This recommendation was accepted by all parties, but with their acquiescence, the Commission postponed a decision until the present recommendations.

Meanwhile, the Bureau of Research, in accordance with instructions by the Commission, has published a report on "Wages and Wage Scales in 1925," which analyzes in great detail the average wage rates in the industry, the average wages of workers in independent shops, in the shops of the Industrial Council, and in submanufacturing shops, and the average rates of the different crafts. The Bureau of Research has presented to the Commission the information with respect to the relations that the present minimum scales for different crafts bear to each other.

Wage scales are not the principal problem in the cloak and suit industry. The chief difficulties, as has been said above, arise from the seasonal character of the industry, the fact that the manufacturing units are becoming smaller and smaller, and thus less responsible, and the unregulated conditions of the outside system of production. Any consideration of the Union minimum wage scales must take account of the facts, first, that there are many weeks in the year when workers receive no wages and secondly, that most of the workers are above the scale.

The reports of the Bureau of Research show that in 1925 the average number of full weeks' employment was 27.4 for workers in the inside shops and 26.8 for workers in submanufacturing shops. If workers are at the scale, and have the average number of weeks of employment their annual earnings are distressingly low.

In view of these facts and in view of the data which the Bureau of Research has presented on existing inequalities between the various scales, the Commission feels that the following increases are abundantly justified:

	Present Scale	New Scale
Cloak and Dress Crafters	\$44.00	\$50.00
Sample Makers	42.00	42.00
Jacket, Coat, Reofer and Dress Operators	50.00	54.00
Piece Tailors	43.00	45.00
Reofer, Jacket and Coat Finishers	41.00	44.00
Jacket, Coat and Reofer Finishers' Helpers	32.00	35.00
Jacket, Coat, Reofer and Dress Up Pressers	42.00	47.00
Jacket, Coat, Reofer and Dress Under Pressers	37.50	42.00
Cloak Bushers	35.00	39.00
Housemen who also do Pinning, Marking and General Work on Garments	34.00	35.00
Skirt Cutters	39.50	45.00
Skirt Operators	45.00	52.00
Skirt Up Pressers	35.00	42.00
Skirt Under Pressers	37.50	42.00
Skirt Busters	25.00	25.00
Skirt Finishers	29.50	25.00
Drapers	27.50	29.00
Begraders on Skirts	32.00	35.00
Girls' Begraders	37.50	39.00

(4) Non-Union Manufacturing

The principle of unionization in the Cloak and Suit Industry is not challenged. All employers and jobbers have agreed in their contracts with the Union that they will deal only with Union shops and Union workers, and in Union-made garments. They have agreed, indeed, that they will deal only in garments bearing the labels which are furnished by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and which certify that the garments have been made under proper conditions.

During the first year of the Commission's existence there were some complaints of non-Union manufacturing, but a fair estimate of its proportion at that time seemed to indicate that it was not a serious factor in breaking down standards. The Report of the Special Investigation estimated that 15 per cent of the total production was made by non-Union shops, and since this 15 per cent covered principally lower-priced garments it was really less important than the numerical percentage seemed to indicate. During the past year, however, conditions have admittedly become worse.

The percentage of non-Union manufacturing has greatly increased and this has had serious effects. It is highly desirable, as all factors admit, that non-Union manufacturing be reduced and, if possible, entirely eliminated.

The problem raises no disputed question of principle. It is simply a question of enforcement. All parties have agreed that they will engage only in Union transactions. The enforcement of this clause in the contracts is in large measure in the hands of the Union. Consequently, the opinion of the Commission is highly desirable that the Union should not be handicapped in its efforts to detect non-Union shops and to prevent jobbers and manufacturers from dealing with them, and in case a violation of the contract is proved, that adequate penalties be enforced to neutralize any advantage which the employer has gained through the non-Union manufacturing, and to deter him and others from similar offenses in the future.

The Commission recommends, therefore, that the clauses in the existing contracts dealing with access to books be amended so as to afford opportunities for a speedier examination of books when any party to the collective agreements files a complaint. Consideration should be given in this connection to the advisability of a joint committee, headed by the Imperial Chairman, and charged with the duty of checking up on the sending of work through unauthorized and sub-standard channels.

(5) The Prosanis Label

In its first Report the Commission recommended the adoption of a sanitary label in the industry to be issued under the supervision of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and guaranteeing to the consuming public that the garments bearing the label were produced in shops complying with the prescribed standards of sanitation and working conditions accepted in the industry. The parties obligated themselves to deal only in garments bearing this label, which has become known as the "Prosanis" label. The influence of the label is just beginning to make itself felt. Its ultimate success will depend both on the activity of the parties and on the public support which it receives.

The label represents the potent force of public opinion exerted in the direction of maintaining and improving working conditions and sanitary standards in this important industry, the products of which enter into practically every home in the land. By insisting on this label in the garments it purchases, the public will not only protect itself against the dangers from disease because of manufacture under unwholesome conditions, but it will be giving its support in a most effective way to those in the industry who stand for decent, healthful working conditions.

The best weapon against non-union manufacture is in the proper enforcement of the provisions of the contracts relating to the use of the sanitary label. We recommend that more effective measures be taken to prevent violation of this important requirement. It should be insisted that each and every garment manufactured or dealt in must carry the label. There should be more adequate provision for inspection by representatives of the Label Division, and there should be a system of penalties to be enforced in cases of evasion or misuse of the label.

(6) The Bureau of Research

In the *ad interim* recommendations of June, 1925, the Commission urged the establishment of a Bureau of Research. This was done, and in the few months which have elapsed the Bureau has made studies of certain matters important to the industry as a whole. The more that is learned about an industry as complicated as the Cloak and Suit Industry, the more wide differences between the parties be removed from controversy over the facts and the closer will be the approach to amicable adjustments.

The Commission recommends, therefore, that the Bureau of Research be continued; that it be an adjunct of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and that it be financed in part by contributions from independent manufacturers, submanufacturers and jobbers, graduated according to the amount of business that they do, the size of the contributions to be determined by the Imperial Chairman.

The cost of the industry's organization should be paid not only by the associations, but also by the elements making a livelihood out of the industry. Since the association finance the impartial machinery, it seems to the Commission proper that the major portion of the cost of the Bureau of Research should be paid by independent manufacturers. This arrangement would have the additional advantage of giving the independent a greater interest in the industry as a whole.

Such a Bureau would make such statistical and fact-finding investigations as may seem desirable from time to time, and should build up a body of information about the industry which will enable problems of unemployment, productivity, and wages to be dealt with intelligently.

Conclusion

The Commission has been in close touch with the industry for nearly two years. Its members have given a great deal of time and thought to its problems, some of which are extraordinarily complex. Those problems have been thoroughly explored by impartial investigators in a much greater degree than in most industrial inquiries. The severe criticisms made above of certain existing conditions are, of course, not to be considered as in any way personal in character; they go only to harmful situations which have developed, and for which no one group in the industry is responsible.

At various times during the last two years, the Commission has made suggestions which have been adopted, and it believes that some of these changes have already demonstrated their lasting value. During the past two years, the only interruptions in the industry (Continued on Page 9)

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE BRITISH STRIKE

Each passing day, since the English general strike was declared off with dramatic suddenness by the order of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress last Wednesday morning, brings clearer proof that the British workers have scored a signal historic success with their national walkout, and that the Trades Union Congress has achieved the objects it set out to accomplish when it threw in the whole strength of the trade union movement for the defense of the mine workers.

If the general press in the United States, with a few honorable exceptions, ever deserved the appellation of "capitalist" or "kept" press, it certainly fully merited it during the short and decisive twelve days that the organized workers of Great Britain waged their brilliant campaign against the combined forces of organized capital, age-old vested interests and the Tory government. A veritable torrent of falsehoods and barefaced twisting of facts inundated the columns of the American metropolitan press and fed through its news-carrying arteries the country press day after day with stories of the "failure" of the British workers to tie up the industrial life of the country, with lurid accounts of discussions within their ranks, and of the ability of the Tory government to "see it through" despite the ungodly attempt of the trades unions. And with similar brazenness, that clearly betrays how fervently the wish was the father of the thought, this same press keeps now up the chatter that the strike had collapsed, that the British workers have surrendered and have thrown themselves on the tender mercies of Baldwin, Churchill and their patriotic associates.

That this is shameless trickery and a device to save the face of the British Tory crew and to discourage any such heresy as a general strike idea in this part of the world is clearly proved by the terms that were pledged to the Trades Union Council before it agreed to call off the stoppage. The strike, it will be remembered, was provoked directly by the posting of lockout notices in several of the large collieries by some of the big coal magnates in order to enforce a ten per cent reduction of the miners' wages after the period of the governmental subsidy had expired. The Trades Union Council demanded that these lockout notices be forthwith withdrawn, that no wage reductions take place, but that the government undertake at once a reorganization of the entire coal industry prior to any further wage arrangements in the mines.

The result of the general strike, besides proving that it could have been averted if not for bitter hostility to organized labor on the part of some members of the Baldwin cabinet, has gained for the miners each one of these demands and several others in addition. In brief the settlement terms concede the establishment of a national wage board, the reorganization of the coal industry on the lines submitted by the Coal Commission and endorsed by the miners' union, the continuation of the governmental subsidy, and the stipulation that no revision of wages, if such a revision is ever found possible, should affect the wages of the lower paid men.

But aside from these concrete economic achievements, the British general strike is bound to have other far-reaching effects on the organized workers' movement in England and the world over. It is true this strike had only an economic purpose to gain and it is similarly true that it was kept, as far as possible, within the ramifications of an economic movement. But never before, in the history of England or of any other country, has there been such a wonderful demonstration of solidarity of organized workers and never before has Labor by experiment learned the enormous power of the strike weapon as during those historic twelve days. And the psychological and moral gain accruing from this strike will give Labor new inspiration, new enthusiasm and new energy, more valuable and more important in their effect than, perhaps, the terms of the settlement itself.

THE AMALGAMATED CONVENTION

The convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers last week in Montreal marks another milestone on the road of its unbroken progress and truly wonderful achievement in the past twelve years.

In the last two years, in particular, the Amalgamated has scored some remarkable gains, extending its control over the clothing industry in markets hitherto considered as "enemy" territory and consolidating its already powerful influence in the principal clothing-making centers. The most outstanding accomplishments in this field are, no doubt, its victory last year in the New York

Chicago strike against the International and Taylor Clothing companies, and its constructive campaign of rehabilitation in the New York clothing market which resulted in the reestablishment of arbitration machinery destroyed by the lockout of 1920-21.

In its report to the convention, the general executive board of the Amalgamated stresses the signal success arbitration has had in the clothing industry as a means of not only averting occasional crises but for the solution of the perennial problems of the trade and for the extension of the union's influence and control. The report further recites the success of the unemployment fund in the Chicago market and the extension of the plan to all unionized clothing markets; the successful operation of the employment exchanges in Chicago and Rochester which makes it possible for the union to regulate the flow of labor into shops in accordance with the legitimate demands of the industry; the splendid growth of the Amalgamated banks in New York and Chicago, and the formation of a corporation by the Amalgamated to deal with the problem of housing for its members in New York City.

It is a record of constructive gains of which the members of the Amalgamated may well feel proud of. It proves again beyond peradventure that the great organization of American clothing workers is built on solid rock, that its leadership is interested in building up for the men's tailors a sound, rational trade union here and now, and that its future is bright and full of still greater promise.

The Amalgamated emerges from its last convention a more united, a more solidified organization, spiritually and organically than it ever has been in the twelve-year span of its existence. The whole labor movement of America, and the organized workers in the women's garment industry especially, sincerely rejoice with the clothing workers over the remarkable progress their organization is making despite the obstacles created for them by enemies on all sides. And our own International Union, besides, adds the further hope, in the words of President Sigman, as expressed in the message forwarded by him to the Amalgamated convention in Montreal that "the day is not distant when the clothing workers' union will find itself within the great body of American organized labor where it will form an important link in the big chain of organizations that safeguard the living interests of the wage earners of our country."

LABOR LIFE INSURANCE

The General Executive Board, with the sanction of nearly all the important locals in New York City, has given its approval to the union labor life insurance plan that is at present being realized under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor.

The G. E. B. gave concrete expression to this sanction by deciding to purchase a block of stock in the Union Labor Life Insurance Company which is beginning operations under the presidency of Matthew Woll, with the participation of every large trade union in the country. It is, perhaps, in place to state here briefly some of the purposes this company aims to accomplish and its potential benefits to the labor movement as a whole.

The Labor Union Life Insurance, which was launched upon the initiative of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, confines its stock to trade unions and trade unionists, and this stock cannot be transferred without giving the company an opportunity of repurchasing it at the price it was obtained. This will safeguard for all time organized labor's control of this insurance company.

It is the specific intent of its founders that this company shall be a cooperative enterprise for "service and not for profit." It is intended that fictitious or high market values should not be created for shareholders, but that the insured shall receive every benefit of a saving. The purpose, in short, is that the trade union shareholders shall have a safe, sound and profitable investment limited to six per cent annually and that the policy holder shall get his insurance at as nearly cost as is possibly consistent with safety.

Insurance is a tremendous and marvelously growing business. In the United States and Canada, there were in the end of 1924 over ninety-million policies in force with the amount of insurance approximately sixty-seven billion of dollars. Of the huge sum of premiums paid in annually by policy-holders, it is estimated, that members of organized labor contribute about one hundred and fifty million dollars. These tremendous funds go into the coffers of Wall Street-controlled insurance companies to be added to the resources with which the banking interests dominate the economic and industrial life of the country.

That a life insurance company controlled by workers and operated in the interests of the workers can reduce materially the cost of insurance for workers, is not open to any doubt. The example of the successful operation of such companies in Europe furnishes ample evidence for that. The Labor Life Insurance Company will not have to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars annually in salaries to its directors and other high officials; it will not have to spend millions yearly for an army of solicitors and collectors, as it plans to carry on its work through the offices of the existing labor organizations affiliated with it by making them its authorized agencies of enrollment and premium collection. In a word, it plans to sell life insurance to trade unionists with the prime object of benefiting the insured and not for enriching private controllers or owners of the company.

It is a fine, constructive enterprise and it richly deserves the support of every trade union in the land of every group or organization that is friendly to the labor movement and works for its growth and continued progress.

Organized Labor and Prohibition

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

The fight for and against prohibition, which is fast becoming once more an important issue in American politics, affects materially the interests of the workers. Alcoholism, or the addiction to drinking hard liquor, is obviously a menace to human progress in general, and to the labor movement in particular. This social evil is, however, not a direct product of the modern industrial civilization. Thousands of years ago, human beings were familiar with the preparation and usage of intoxicating beverages that yield a pleasant, though temporary physical and mental stimulus. The abnormal habit of liquor drinking is therefore age-old, and so are its harmful results, such as the increase in crime, the exploitation of the poorest strata of the population by unconscionable liquor-vendors, spreading of vice, and similar abominations.

Spread of Industry and Drunkenness

The hasty advance of the modern industrial system, with its concentration of production in big factories, nevertheless, contributed a great deal towards the spread of drunkenness and its harmful effects. The strain of mechanical labor, especially during long stretches, arouses frequently the desire on the part of workers for refreshing and often strong drink, which develops habits of regular inebriety that are difficult of correction in later life. The direct and indirect harm resulting from such addiction to alcoholism is almost incalculable. It breeds, to begin with, a special class of parasites, such as saloon keepers, whiskey distillers, beer brewers, liquor dealers, etc., who prey on the earnings of the workers, and, in addition, it frequently incapacitates the wage earners from performing their tasks as efficiently as they might when sober. "Blue Monday" is a familiar epidemic in working class circles, and is, perhaps, the most vivid expression of the social menace of alcoholism. Statistics relating to factory accidents have proved that Monday is the most unfortunate day in the week, which reveals the close association of the abuse of drink with the permanent danger of mishaps in factory work.

The harmful effect of alcohol, however, is apparent not only on the mental state of the worker, but on his physical make-up as well. Alcohol slowly yet surely lowers human vitality and its power of resistance to infectious diseases. Alcohol undoubtedly undermines the system, shortens life, and leaves its mark upon the offspring of those addicted to it. It saps self-respect, and renders its addicts practically irresponsible by making them incapable for collective action, and easy prey for all anti-social schemes and purposes. Eventually, they fall a burden upon society and contribute enormously to the expense of maintaining hospitals and houses of correction. Small wonder, therefore, that in the last hundred years alcoholism has become a problem of enormous social importance.

Alcoholism a Labor Problem

Particularly dangerous and repulsive in its effect is the use of alcohol among women and children. The destructive result of liquor drinking among mothers and minors has been definitely established by the medical world. It must be kept in mind, that the modern factory system has drawn into its net millions of women and children workers. This army of new workers appear to be just as eager for artificial refreshment as the older factory workers and in this sense, the

development of modern industrialism creates a fertile ground for the spread of drunkenness in working class circles.

The organized labor masses were therefore confronted, face to face, with the problem of alcoholism since their earliest days of organization. For the past sixty years, trade unionism and the movement against drink have worked side by side, benefiting mutually, ~~each~~ other. The workers quite early realized that unless drunkenness is checked in their midst, wage increases and the shortening of the work day might bring more harm than good, and the achievements of the labor movement might turn out to be rather a curse than a blessing to the workers and to society as a whole.

It is of some moment to point out that not always have these two movements gone hand in hand in close bond. When the trade unions first made their appearance in England, in the beginning of the last century, there existed a widespread belief ought to aid them in obtaining equal and free access to the enjoyment of alcoholic drink. Thus, the Union of Iron Workers, in its constitution adopted in 1869, inserted a clause providing for equal distribution of beer among all members at meetings. Even as late as 1837, the Union of Engineers had a rule that one-third of its weekly income be spent for refreshments for union members. This remarkable rule was only abolished in 1846, when a regulation was adopted forbidding smoking and drinking at meetings. It must be also borne in memory that in those years all trade union meetings were held in saloons or public houses; after the workers decided to cease drinking liquor at meetings the saloon-keepers refused to allow them to meet in their back rooms, and this in turn led to the movement for creating meeting homes of their own by the trade unions in England.

After 1860, there has begun to be observed quite a strong movement against alcoholism among English workers. Until the world war, however, this movement brought few practical results and a number of important English labor organizations remained entirely indifferent toward it and infrequently elected even notorious drunkards as union chiefs. The aftermath of the war, however, brought a remarkable change of feeling on the subject of drink among the English masses, though the great majority is still firmly opposed to strict prohibition after the American fashion. Many of the leaders and the rank and

file are beginning to demand only the control of the sale of liquors and the privilege of local option for communities or districts. In the last few years the number of total abstemious and members of temperance societies among the British workers increased enormously and the trade unions are likewise conducting a strong propaganda against drunkenness.

Movement Against Alcoholism

In other European countries the movement against alcoholism is making similar strides. In such countries where there exist so-called Christian trade unions, such as Germany, France and Belgium, embracing nearly three million workers, the movement against drink is directly the result of clerical and religious propaganda, a factor, which, at first, gave rise to suspicion and mistrust against it among the members of the free or "neutral" trade unions, i. e. the Socialist organizations. Labor, however, the interest in this movement against drunkenness began to spread to ALL workers, giving rise to an organized effort to fight this social cancer to a finish. The workers, nevertheless, split into two different camps in the pursuit of this aim, into fanatical followers of strict prohibition—or teetotalers, and a more moderate group which was opposed to hard liquors only and was content to allow the sale of light wines and beer under local option laws.

In the European countries, with the exception of Finland, the labor organizations, as a whole, are not inclined to support the protagonists of strict prohibition. In Finland, the classic land of prohibition and sobriety, however, the violation of anti-drinking laws is even punished by expulsion from the unions. But even there the opposition to the absolute prohibition laws is sufficiently strong to assert that this prohibition problem is far from settled even in Finland.

The opposition to prohibition in working class circles is based on the following three main reasons: 1) A moderate amount of drinking of light wines and beer is not harmful; only its abuse is harmful and that should be treated like every other disease; 2) Prohibition is essentially an insult to every right-thinking person inasmuch as it undertakes to control and regulate his personal habits on the assumption that he himself is incapable of observing the line of demarcation between the proper use and abuse of alcoholic drinking; 3) Prohibition places the problem of safeguarding people from the effects of alcohol upon down—instead of taking man away from alcohol and diminishing or eliminating his habit of hard liquor it attempts to take liquor away from him, which is obviously an impossible task as there is nothing in the world that could stop any addict from setting up a small still on his own premises and distilling "booze" from sugar, corn or fruits.

In our next article we shall deal with the results obtained in the fight against drunkenness in some of the countries in Europe.

Electrical Workers Will Hold Giant Power Institute at Brookwood in July

The summer institute to be conducted by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, July 19-31 at Brookwood Labor College is arousing considerable interest among the members.

The local union in Boston, Mass., is conducting a membership campaign and the two men who bring in the most members are to be seated as representatives to the institute and have their expenses paid. The Massachusetts State Association of Electrical Workers, comprising representatives of all the unions in the state, has publicly and officially endorsed the institute and is urging that each local in the state send a representative.

New York Local No. 3 voted recently to pay the expenses of four of their men, and at least 29 others are planning to come for one or both weeks, according to Clinton S. Goldie, Brookwood field representative, who addressed the group. The locals in Baltimore and Elizabeth, N. J., are

also enthusiastic about the meetings. From Seattle, clear on the Pacific coast, has come commendation of the institute and requests for a full account of it in the Electrical Workers' Journal.

The institute will be in session during the two weeks from July 19 to 31, and any trade unionist who is interested in the problems of electrical power development in relation to organized labor may attend for one or both weeks. A fee of \$20 per week covers tuition and living expenses, including room and board.

The central theme of the electrical workers' summer will be "Giant Power"—the possibilities that lie in supplying electrical power cheaply to individual homes in town and country and to industrial plants from a system of central stations and substations. In order to generate electricity economically, there must be a supply of cheap fuel or water power, and the problem of giant power hinges upon locating plants at the source of that coal or oil or water and transmitting energy in the form of electricity rather than shipping the fuel hundreds of miles to be burned in individual plants.

There is a double interest in giant power projects for trade unionists—first, that the government, rather than corporations, should control so vital a development; and second, that such plants shall not be closed to organized labor as are so many other branches of electrical development, such as the General Electric and Western Electric companies.

Among those who will lead in discussions are J. P. Noonan, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; H. H. Broach, international vice-president; Clifford Pinchot, governor of Pennsylvania; and Morris L. Cooke, chairman of the Pennsylvania commission on Giant Power. Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun, director of studies at Brookwood, is in charge of the program.

ENGLISH STRIKE TUG OF WAR



All Hands to the Rope

New Leader, London

Basic Industries in America

XII. Iron and Steel

The iron and steel industry is one of the basic industries of the country. Its products are used by railroads, automobile factories, building trades, oil and gas wells, canning industries, and a large number of miscellaneous trades such as machinery manufacturers and machine shops. Without iron and steel our civilization would be wholly different, and the conditions of the industry are closely related with general industrial conditions throughout the country.

Omitting the secondary fabricating plants such as machine shops and foundries, the basic iron and steel industry turned out in 1923, the last year for which census figures were available, a product valued at \$4,161,338,911.

There were employed on the average, 424,913 wage-earners. They received \$696,760,521 in wages. The 45,021 salaried workers in the industry received \$112,331,744.

There was left, of the value added by manufacture, about \$480,000,000 to be devoted to miscellaneous items of overhead, rent, interest and profits.

The industry is characteristically one of very large plants, in which automatic machinery is relied upon for most of the work. The iron ore is first made into pig iron in great blast furnaces. Then it is sometimes cooled into the conventional iron "pigs" to be shipped elsewhere for further working, but for the most part it is carried in the molten state to be converted into steel in the same plant. There are two chief processes for doing this — the open-hearth furnaces and the Bessemer converters. Such furnaces and converters refine the steel with the addition of certain chemicals, into various grades of steel billets. The steel billets in turn are carried to the rolling mills, to be made into bars and shapes. These mills include rail mills, sheet mills, tube mills (making pipe) and structural steel mills. The typical plant will cover several square miles, will contain blast furnaces, open hearth furnaces and Bessemer converters and rolling mills for one or more kinds of product. It will employ several thousand workmen.

Pennsylvania is the chief steel producing state, the principal centers being Pittsburgh and the Allegheny River Valley, Johnstown, and Bethlehem. Ohio comes next where Youngstown and Canton are the main steel cities. Illinois and Indiana follow with their centering about the southern shores of Lake Michigan. In South Chicago and Gary—the latter town having been planned and constructed for the most modern plants of the U. S. Steel Corporation. Next in order of importance is Alabama, where the presence of coal and iron has given rise to steel plants around Birmingham. In New York there are large steel manufacturers at Lackawanna and elsewhere. These are the most important steel states, but other plants are located in Michigan, West Virginia, Colorado (where the Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is found), Kentucky, Maryland, Wisconsin, New Jersey and a few other states.

The big steel concerns often own not only several steel plants, but other properties as well, such as Portland cement plants (cement is made out of slag from the furnaces) iron mines, coal mines, shipyards, railroads, steamship lines, etc. The largest of all is, of course, the United States Steel Corporation, formed by a merger twenty-five years ago, which ac-

counts for about half the total product and is the acknowledged leader of the trade. Other large steel companies are the Bethlehem, Midvale, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Lackawanna, Sloss-Sheffield, Crucible, Colorado Fuel and Iron. Combinations among some of these have been taking place and others are under way or projected.

The United States Steel Corporation is the classic example of a large corporation which, when it was formed, issued capital stock greatly in excess of the existing value of its properties, and later gave this capital a high market value through enormous earnings. At its foundation the common stock issued represented nothing except the expectation of increased profits in the future. Since then, besides paying interest on its bonds and all other expenses and fixed charges, it has paid regular dividends on its preferred stock, has paid an average of 5.62 per cent annually on its common stock, has appropriated for extensions of plant out of the remaining surplus a total of \$462,795,500, and has had left an undivided surplus of \$496,543,109, besides the paid-in surplus of \$35,900,000, with which it started. The total amount of dividends paid during the 25 years on the common stock—which by ordinary accounting standards was worthless when issued and did not cost the original owners a cent—is \$631,541,091; or 12 1/4 per cent of its "par value". The Corporation has just announced the establishment of a regular 7 per cent dividend on this stock.

The common stock is now held by 90,615 individuals, as against 12,315 at the foundation of the corporation in 1901. The number of owners has shrunk, however, from a maximum of 107,439 in 1921. Of course, most of these stockholders own only a few shares, and the control is concentrated among relatively few large owners like Judge Gary, J. P. Morgan, and George F. Baker.

During the five years 1920-1925, the gross receipts from customers of the corporation were accounted for as follows:

Wages	44.71%
General Expenses	34.56
Depreciation	4.84
Taxes	5.16
Interest	2.55
Net Profit	8.93

Iron and steel workers are for the most part entirely unorganized—the exceptions being in some of the sheet and tin plate mills, where the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers still carries on collective bargaining. The union originally controlled basic steel plants as well, but the famous Homestead Strike and the formation of the U. S. Steel Corporation broke its power. Many strikes since, including the great national strike of 1919, failed to effectuate a permanent organization in these plants. The policy of the Steel Corporation has always been determinedly anti-union. Labor espionage, combined with a complete system of industrial, political and social control of an autocratic nature in the steel towns has succeeded in stamping out the beginning of organization every time it started to grow. The immense resources of the steel companies aid them in maintaining the non-union condition.

The workers comprise a few highly skilled and well paid men, for the most part native Americans, and a large number of semi-skilled and unskilled laborers hired at prevailing rates, who have been recruited from immigrants of all European nations,

as well as from Negroes. For many years the industry operated on an average 12-hour day in the continuous processes and a 16-hour day elsewhere—long after the eight-hour day became customary in other industries.

Labor The World Over

Hungarian Labor Federation Meets

ON March 28th and 29th the congress of the Hungarian Federation of Trade Unions was held in Budapest with 185 delegates and 24 Organizations represented. The congress concentrated mainly on the four following points: the Trade Union Center's Report on Activities; the protection of the workers; Social Insurance; and the right of free meeting and association. On all these matters resolutions submitted by the Centre were unanimously adopted.

According to the report the Federation had in 1923 176,401 members; in the year 1924 it had only 125,824. Although this setback is serious enough the Trade Union movement in Hungary reduced in size by the war, is much more powerful than in the great Hungary of pre-war days. The Trade Unions have had to suffer particularly severely under the persecution of the reaction.

On the question of protection for the workers the following demands were addressed to the Government: Insurance against unemployment; legal regulation of labor conditions through collective contracts; the statutory eight-hour day; the 48-hour working week; abolition of the employment of children under 14, and the abolition of night work; 36 hours Sunday rest; payment for holidays; and the formation of agricultural chambers of labor.

A "Free" Trade Union Centre in Argentina

AFTER long preparation a conference met in Buenos Aires on February 27th and 28th, attended by representatives of the independent unions of municipal employees, sailors, railwaymen, leather workers, and solicitor's clerks. It was decided to form a federation of trade unions adopting the Amsterdam platform, with the title "Confederacion Obrera Argentina."

This step was the only way out 'in view of the powerlessness created in both existing national centres (U. S. A. and F. O. R. A.) by sectionalism and disputes about theories. The new federation comprises about 80,000 members, whereas the syndicalist communist U. S. A. has hardly 20,000 and the F. O. R. A. which is affiliated to the International Workers' Association (Reds) consists of little more than a name.

Resolutions were passed concerning the observance of the law governing the payment of wages in cash; the tyranny of Fascism in different countries; the employment of the boycott as a weapon of the working class struggle; and the conducting of a propaganda campaign on a large scale.

The Labor Program for the World Economic Conference

THE preparatory committee for the World Economic Conference on which the labor representatives are Jonhauz (Vice-president of the I. F. T. U.), Quegnet (Secretary, I. F. T. U.), Egger (German Federation of Trade Unions), and Pugh (President of the Trade Union Congress General Council), held its first meeting in Geneva on April 25th. The following

During recent years, however, it has shifted to the eight-hour day. The workers suffer from poor housing conditions and frequent unemployment, as the industry is susceptible in a high degree to both seasonal and cyclical variations. Average wages are a little higher than in general industry, the average being brought up by the highly paid skilled men. They were, in February of this year, \$7.97 weekly.

are some points from the program the Labor representatives submitted:

The stabilization of the exchange (particularly by means of co-operation with the state-controlled international banking institutions); an international trade policy (opposition to "dumping" as applied to raw materials and foodstuffs); the distribution of raw materials and foodstuffs; action to be taken against protectionist policies; a European Economic Alliance; trade policy and the workers' standard of living; the international organization of production of markets, and its effects of the economic life of the world in conjunction with this question co-operation between the European states, and between Europe and the rest of the world, will be discussed; international combines and the question of controlling them in co-operation with the various governments and the League of Nations as well as with consumers and labor organizations with industry, and with the International Labor Office (the industries concerned are those handling the most important products, such as coal, oil, iron, chemical products, rubber, cotton and grain); the provision of opportunities of employment which will guarantee a decent living to the workers; in connection with which will be discussed such questions as credit policy, the execution of public works, and the problem of placing immigrant workers.

Fifth Congress of the Latvian Unions

ON the 17th and 18th of April the Latvian Federation of Trade Unions held at Riga its fifth congress at which were present 93 delegates from 14 affiliated organizations. According to the report on activities the Federation had affiliated to it on January 1st of this year, 17 organizations with 125 branches and a total of 16,679 members. Although during the year covered by the report, 6 small local organizations have withdrawn from the Federation, its membership shows an increase of 1782. The membership of the dissident (communist) unions, shows on the contrary a decline to 3000 members.

During the year 3224 workers were involved in strikes, affecting 53 concerns and totalling 24,555 days. Of the strikes 56 per cent were completely successful, 22 per cent partly successful, and only 22 per cent unsuccessful.

As a result of the economic crisis in Latvia wages have fallen still further. The average real wages of the skilled workers amount to only 80 per cent of the pre-war level, the metal workers being worst off in this respect. Unskilled workers are receiving about the same as before the war.

The Latvian workers showed their strong spirit of internationalism in a resolution of sympathy for the Italian labor movement in the difficult time through which it is passing, and decided to make a special grant (equal to 25 per cent of the federation's ordinary affiliation fee to the I. F. T. U.) to the fund which the International Federation of Trade Unions has opened to help the trade union movement in backward countries.

Florida

Unprejudiced reports from the front indicate that the Florida bubble has been pricked; that the great Boom is over, and that local newspapers are carrying advertisements in which fancy subdivisions lots are being offered in exchange for a second-hand Ford on the hope that the sometime lot owner can beat his way home, even if he has lost his shirt. The collapse came late last fall, and now the ground is being cleared of the fireworks, the blader boys, the gaudy blue prints, and the high pressure artist in baggy white pants, in an attempt to take an inventory of what really remains. Was it all a geyser of bunkum in which pieces of paper changed hands with unbelievable velocity, in which white faced men arrived with a week's labor in their pockets, and left with a million, in which scrub women in Boston and Detroit bought lots, chiefly located in the middle of the Everglades, and in which every panhandler, every card sharper, every prostitute and every shady dealer who could beg, borrow or bum the transportation, set out for for the land of Ponce de Leon? No, not according to the most reliable information available. The bunk was prodigious, the waste was enormous, the folly and the gullibility were unbelievable, but there were, and are, certain sound realities under the Boom. These realities are more enduring than the gold of the Klondike or the oil of Texas. They are sunshine, human health and recreation. Florida, apart from its title show artists, is a good place to live in, a good place to grow certain kinds of crops—in particular citrus crops, and a delightful place in which to spend the winter months. And the faster the Boom goes disappear, the better it becomes.

But the economical development of these very tangible realities has received some serious setbacks by virtue of the Boom. Take for instance the citrus trees—the backbone of Florida's agricultural wealth. Citrus trees, reared long and lovingly, when go-getters in white pants are out to smash sales resistance? By and large, there has been a tremendous overdevelopment of subdivisions. One expert has calculated that no less than 600,000 building lots were laid out between Miami and West Palm Beach, along a strip of land of a mile or two wide, with the Atlantic on one side and the Everglades on the other. If a house was built on every lot, I would mean a population of 2,000,000 people. Meanwhile the technical problem of transportation is such that you could never get the building materials through to start with, and never feed the population even if you could get the houses built. In many areas, the streets, sewers, sidewalks, street lamps which were all laid out for selling purposes, are "going native" and relapsing into the jungle again. So shoddy was the material of which they were built that it is probably a mercy that no one will ever live near them. Even in certain well constructed and well located subdivisions, nine lots out of every ten were sold to speculators rather than to prospective home owners, and the tenth man hesitates to build in such a minority. He would feel pretty lonely.

Meanwhile the speculators who bought at the peak just before the

crash are, having some very uneasy moments—growing constantly more uneasy as the month of June approaches. The terms on which they bought called for an initial payment, with the second payment falling due in six months—say June. They planked down the first—often all they had in the world including carfare home—confidently hoping to resell at a profit and thus avoid the second payment. But while prices have not broken drastically in the well planned areas, realtors are very difficult to make money in tight. The Florida banks are taking no chances (their surpluses are mostly up in New York on call), mortgages are being discount at 60 cents on the dollar in certain sections, "large developers are hastily seeking financial assistance in the North." So, with the reluctance of a Greek tragedy, comes a fearful "day of reckoning" for the greater bulk of speculative purchasers." Conceivably this day of reckoning may have a disastrous effect for a while on the underlying situation, however sound it is at heart.

The outlook is by no means all gloomy, however. While large brigades of speculators walk the plank, building statistics show a larger volume of construction in the first quarter of 1926 than during the similar period in 1925. Almost every city on the coast is creating or enlarging a harbor. Through roads, great state bridges, reclamation projects are being pushed forward with vigor. Building contracts awarded in March are said by the F. W. Dodge Corporation to be 15% per cent greater than during the same month last year. Last this be taken as too conclusive, however, it should be noted that the State of North Carolina increased its awards 132 per cent in the same period. And how many of the materials will materialize in stone and steel is, of course, a further question. But in the tangible terms of sound building materials, there is obviously no collapse in Florida as yet. The realities go marching on. What has collapsed is the "Bladder" contracts, the paper sales, the white pants, the amiable ladies who would sell you their amiability, or a lot, or both, the doubting your money in forty-eight hours, the bunk and the Boom. May it rest in peace.

—Facts for Workers

Cloak Mediators Issue Report

(Continued from Page 5)

aside from those due to its seasonal character have been minor, brief, and sporadic. The impairment of machinery has been working itself out, but under their time limit the collective agreements are about to expire, and the several parties must therefore confer on the terms of new contracts.

The recommendations made above set forth in general terms the adjustments and modifications of existing relationships that the Commission hopes will be agreed to by the new contracts. These recommendations should not be considered as isolated remedies for different situations; the Commission desires that they be considered as a whole—as a program which, if accepted, will effect a general betterment of existing conditions in the industry.

The name indicates, the Governor's Commission has been an "advisory" body; it has not arbitrated, but has mediated. The recommendations above given are urged upon the parties in interest with the hope that the fairness and good sense of the proposals will commend themselves to

Ohio Miners Who Know How to Co-operate

Dillonvale, Ohio, a small town so far as census figures are concerned is a big town in the cooperative vernacular. In 1908 some thirty Bohemian coal miners started a little store with a contribution of \$10 apiece. Today their capital and reserves amount to nearly \$200,000, and their annual sales to more than \$300,000. They have four grocery stores and Great Markets, a dry goods and shoe store, a hardware store, a meeting hall and club room. Two of the stores are in Dillonvale, two in small mining towns nearby. They sell groceries, meats, dry goods, clothing, shoes, ladies' ready-to-wear, millinery, furniture, draperies, floor coverings, heavy hardware, lime, hay grain and feed.

The biggest block in Dillonvale is the property of the Cooperative Company, which rents space to the First National Bank of the town, and to the Railroad Company, its waiting room and ticket office.

This company has regularly returned from 6 per cent to 9 per cent each year to members on their patronage, and 2 per cent to non-members.

Canada Under C. W. S. Wing

The huge British cooperative wholesale society, now serving a third of all Britain's retail needs, may soon become a major factor on another continent. Already "C. W. S." goods are sold in Saskatchewan, Canada, and now the United Farmers Cooperative Co. of Ontario is negotiating with the great Manchester and Glasgow co-ops to furnish cooperative supplies.

The directors of the Farmers' Cooperative have submitted the proposition to their Ontario members and feel that a favorable reply will be made. Not only will great economies in food, clothing and other needs of Ontario farmers be fulfilled by dealing with the British cooperatives, but both the overseas and the Ontario movements will benefit by the added business done. Within another year the Co-operative Wholesale Society will have ceased to be merely English or Scottish, but will have included Canada, if present progress continues. Important business connections have already been made between the South African

and Australian cooperative movements and the mother bodies in Britain.

Doctor Operates As Farmer Cooperator

Nearly everybody sees the connection between tonnage and operation. Not so many see that tonnage and co-operation can be related to each other in such a way as to cut down materially on doctor and hospital fees.

Undoubtedly it was because the farmers of Askov, a little community in Minnesota, have the cooperative habit of selling their wheat and buying their groceries together that they also banded together into a "de-tonification" co-op. A surgeon was hired for a day, all the children in the community with diseased tonsils were brought to him, and by evening 24 little ones had been severed from the disease-breeder.

The Referendum In Local 38

By D. WISNEVSKY
Secretary, Local 38

This coming Saturday, May 21st, will be an important day in the history of our union. On this day, members of No. 38 will be called upon to give by a referendum to be held at Bryant Hall, 6th Avenue near 42d Street, from 11 A. M. to 5 P. M. whether or not this local shall affiliate with the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress Makers' Union. Upon this decision rests the welfare and life of our union.

You are fully aware of the significance of this question. You still remember how bitterly our local fought against the old machine of the Joint Board, which expelled us from that body, precisely three years ago. At that time all our members stood united on this question. Why? Because they understood, as you understand now, that our local is an organic part of the cloak and dress industry, due to the work we make. As such we must be united in one central body with the Joint Board.

Who Created the Issue Against Joining the Joint Board at Present?

There are some members, we admit, who do not realize the importance for workers to be organized into central bodies and there are also some members who do not want to contribute to the cloakmakers' strike fund.

But are you going to be misled by such petty considerations on such a vital question? Surely not! We are at present on the eve of a hard struggle with our employers. The Protective Association is waiting for the moment when our agreements expire. They desire to take away the shop of J. Klugman, P. Harring and Hattie Carnegie, as they had already taken away the shops of B. Weinstein and the French Model Co. You can readily imagine how much weaker our union will become when these shops will be taken from us. How much less power we will have to fight our employers for a guarantee to make a decent living, for the 40-hour week, and the chance we will have to organize the custom dressmakers, without whom we can never obtain real conditions in our trade, if we remain by ourselves. If we stay out of the Joint Board, we shall be then torn apart from the Joint Board and stand the risk of being crushed by our employers' Nay? One unanimous "Nay" should be your answer! And one united decision for rejoining the Joint Board shall be your vote!

Remember Saturday, May 21st, at Bryant Hall, from 11 A. M. to 5 P. M.

them and lead to acceptance. If the recommendations are accepted in principle, the Commission will be willing, if so requested, to act as an arbitration body, and to decide on the specific matters which should be embodied in contracts to make the recommendations effective—the Commission's decision on these points to be binding on the parties which have agreed to the arbitration. Otherwise, the Commission feels that with the submission of this, its final report, its labors are completed.

We desire to express our appreciation of the whole-hearted co-operation and support that we have at all times received from the leaders of the different groups in the industry and their counsel, and from the managers of the various associations.

THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMISSION IN THE CLOAK, SUIT AND SKIRT INDUSTRY

George Gordon Blair, Chairman

Herbert H. Lehman
Bernard L. Shientag
Linard Rogers
Arthur D. Wolf



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Report Submitted to Educational Committee of the G. E. B.

(Continued from last week)

Length of Educational Season
Most of our courses were given over a period of five months from November to April.

Present Activities

At present we are carrying on the following courses: (1) Class in "Economics of the Ladies Garment Industry", P. S. 40; (2) Class in Physical Training, P. S. 40; (3) Class in "Economic Basis of Modern Civilization", I. L. G. W. U. Building; (4) Several Lectures on Natural History, Museum of Natural History; (5) Lectures for Wives of I. L. G. W. U. members, Harlem Cloakmakers Center; (6) Hikes, beginning May 5th.

Activities for Wives of I. L. G. W. U. Members

I wish to call special attention to the activities arranged for wives of I. L. G. W. U. members. These have proven most successful. The program consisted of lectures and discussions as follows: "What Kind of Education Do Women Need?", "How Can We Help Our Children?", "Why the Organized Labor Movement—What Is It?"

Many of our members also came to these lectures with their wives, and they all deeply appreciate the fact that "at last our International has decided to help the wives of our members in their development." Through these lectures we are making an effort to better acquaint them with the aims, problems and policies of the I. L. G. W. U. The beginning is encouraging and we are confident that it will prove most helpful to our organization.

Attendance

We are glad to report that the attendance this season has been very regular and that our students are taking their work more seriously.

Out-of-Town Activities

In accordance with previous years we made arrangements with the Boston Trade Union College to pay them a yearly sum for the instruction of our Boston members who wish to attend their classes. From the inception of this college we have actively participated in its development. Last year we made similar arrangements with the Philadelphia Labor College, but due to the organization campaign in that city and to the unsettled state of mind, we did not renew this arrangement this year. But our members in various cities are requesting that we arranged educational activities for them, as in previous years.

Plan for Season 1926-1927

Our Educational Committee must be planned in advance. Arrangements for teachers have to be made in May. We begin to prepare the literature in May for distribution during the summer and fall. In this way we make our activities known to our members.

1. I would suggest that the curriculum for next season should consist of similar subjects with some slight changes and additions. The subjects you will find listed in the curriculum for 1925-1926.

2. The Sunday morning lectures and discussions in Yiddish should be extended to every part of the city where a sufficient number of our members reside.

3. An attempt should be made to gain the cooperation of the officers and members of our Italian Locals, and similar activities should be arranged for them at a time and place convenient to them.

Mass Activities

I would suggest that we carry on more mass activities consisting of popular talks on social, labor and economic problems, and musical programs for our members and their families, such as the concerts and short talks we have been arranging.

Unity House, Forest Park

I recommend that we carry on educational activities in the Unity House at Forest Park as we have done previously. Lectures and discussions will be arranged on Labor, Economic and Social questions. We usually make arrangements with the speakers to come out to Unity House and give several lectures.

Out-of-Town Activities

I recommend that activities for our members in other cities should be arranged as in previous years. This should include Chicago, Cleveland, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Montreal and Toronto. Of course, it is understood that we will carry educational activities be arranged unless there is a genuine demand for it from the local unions.

Conclusion

As formerly, our members highly appreciate the educational activities carried on by their International and they take pride in our achievements in that field. The Labor Movement still looks to us for leadership and inspiration, and it is encouraging for us, as pioneers, to note the development of workers' education in the United States. Request for our literature, advice, and guidance come not only from various parts of the United States where workers education is being carried on, but also from Europe and even Asia.

Respectfully submitted,

FANNIA M. COHEN,

Executive Secretary,
Educational Department

Join Our Hikes

"Sunlight is the cure of all maladies of body and spirit. It ends introspection and the modern diseases of ingrowing morbid fancies, for the sun's rays travel faster than the poison weeds and burns them up at their secret root."—Arthur Gleason.

Next Hike, Sunday, May 23rd to Hunters Island

The second hike arranged by our Educational Department will be on Sunday, May 23rd, 9:30 A. M. to Hunters Island. Directions are as follows: Take the East Side Subway to 125th Street. There get out and take a local train marked Pelham Bay and ride to the last station. The leader of the hike will meet our members at the foot of the Pelham Bay station.

We advise you to wear comfortable clothes, low shoes and to bring plenty of food with you if you wish to have an enjoyable time. There will be games, sport, singing and lots of fun. Your friends are also welcome.

Please make an effort to be at the Pelham Bay subway station at 9:30 A. M., as we wish to start on time.

LOCAL 38 HIKE

Members of Local 38, the New York Tailors' Union, who are interested to join a party of hikers, belonging to their local, are requested to join the group at Dyckman Street Ferry, this Sunday morning, May 23rd, at 9:30.

The Ways of the Supreme Court

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN
Inspector in Economics, Brookwood

Hocus Pocus

One of the biggest jokers in the arsenal of the supreme court in "due process of law." The constitution says that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The Fifth Amendment lays this prohibition on Congress and the Fourteenth Amendment lays it on the states. You're protected all around, aren't you? But there's where the joke comes in.

What does "due process of law" mean? Whom does it help? Well, in the early application of the Fourteenth Amendment, it was assumed that the bunch of words meant that the state must give a formal and orderly judicial hearing of each case. Common sense could not make the words mean more than that, and that is the meaning still accepted by the supreme court in cases affecting the life of an individual. If you are condemned for murder and lose your appeal to your state supreme court, it's all up with you so far as the courts are concerned. Unless you can show that the state courts did not go through all the motions of a regular trial, the United States supreme court will not go into your case at all. It says that since the state has observed "due process of law" the case is ended. You may hang or sizzle for all grand-jury cares.

But suppose your offense is the refusal to sell electricity at the rate prescribed by a state commission and that you lose your case all the way through the state courts. If you are smart you will then appeal to the supreme court at Washington. The attorney for the state can argue that you have had a regular trial and that all the proper steps have been followed, and any honest-minded person would say that the supreme court would have to wash its hands of you just as it does in a murder case. But no honest-minded man could ever get to the supreme bench except by accident. The judges take exactly the opposite position from that taken when a human life was at stake. They say, "Wait a bit. Maybe the forms of law have been observed; but was justice done?" And they will undertake to determine whether the sale of electricity at the rate prescribed might not cut into your "fair profits." Of course no one ever found a sensible way to determine what is "fair profit" but what does that matter to grand-jury?

The deal looks raw enough on the face of it, but there is another fact that makes it worse. When Congress made the Fourteenth Amendment it deliberately refrained from forbidding the states to take private property for public use "without just compensation." The Fifth Amendment forbade Congress to practice confiscation, but when Congress was copying the other restrictions and applying them to the states it left that one out. But what does the supreme court care? It deliberately reads into the Fourteenth Amendment the words that the makers of the amendment deliberately refrained from putting in; and so it is able to extend the protection of the Constitution to corporation profits, while in a perfectly ille-

gal case withholding that protection from human life.

So Tom Mooney languishes in a California jail. The state went thru all the legal rigmarole in the case; so there is nothing that the supreme court will do. It will not ask whether justice was done. But if the case were one of corporation profits, the court would carry it through to the limit and decide whether the state had done justice. That shows what sort of rogues we keep in the body that has usurped to itself the supreme power in the federal government.

A Nigger in the Woodpile

The Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution was passed, it was said, for the protection of the emancipated slaves. It forbade the states to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. A very commendable effort, surely, to defend the helpless Negroes against their former masters!

But who will bring forward the Negroes that have been confirmed in life, liberty, and property by this amendment? The list will not be long. There was "a Nigger in the woodpile." The fact of the matter is that there were interests in Congress with faith enough in the inconspicuousness of the supreme court to believe that when the time came this innocent clause framed for the protection of the Negroes could be perverted into the protection of large property interests.

Their faith was justified. The court acted true to form. It ruled that a corporation is a person, and so entitled to the protection of this amendment; and under the shelter of this grotesque distortion of words, the business interests are given a free license to plunder the people without any effective regulation by the states.

Now we never hired the supreme judges to write a dictionary for us. Still why should we worry if they throw in a few vandeville stunts for extras by way of earning their keep. As Aaron Burr said, "The law is whatever is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained," and a firm conviction that things are not what they seem will carry one far toward success as an authority on law and justice.

What to do? Let Congress pass a law declaring that corporations are not persons within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, and forbidding the supreme court to construe the amendment so as to treat them as persons! Then the corporations would be subject to real state regulation. But has congress such power? To be sure it has. The Constitution says that the appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court is "with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." If we continue to allow ourselves to be made fools of by some doddering old grandmothers on the supreme bench, we have only ourselves to blame. Let's clear away the wood-pile and see what will come to light.

GRASP THIS OPPORTUNITY!

The Office of the International, 3 West 16th street, is open every Monday and Thursday until 7 o'clock. So enable members of the Union to purchase.

"The Women's Garment Workers" at half price—\$2.50.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Special Meeting to Hear Commission's Report

While at the time of writing no official communication has reached the office with regard to the publication of the report of the Governor's Special Mediation Commission, nevertheless, it is expected that by the time this issue of "Justice" reaches the hands of the membership the report will have been made public, and at that event will be found on the first page.

This information is sufficiently reliable to cause Manager Dubinsky to declare the next membership meeting a special one, the purpose of which will be the report on the findings of the Commission. This meeting will take place on Monday, May 24th, at 7:30 P. M. in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place.

The agreement in the cloak and suit industry which was renewed last year for one year's time in order to give the Commission ample opportunity for a thorough study of the industry on the basis of the union's demands expires about the first week in June. In the event that a strike is forced the bulk of the preparations for it will have to be made during the course of about two or three weeks.

Hence, the special meeting on May 24th will in all likelihood enable the members to learn whether a strike will be declared and when. From this it can readily be seen that this meeting is a very important one and that no second urging should be necessary for a record attendance.

Office Active With Complaints

The activities in the cloak trade, while not halted in any way because of the expected report of the Governor's Commission, are normal, and the lull in the trade is in the main due to the awaited outcome of the report. In the dress trade, on the other hand, because the agreement does not expire until the beginning of next year, the activities center themselves about normal conditions.

One outstanding feature of these activities is the number of discharge cases with which the office is now taken up. As a rule, these are expected in the slack season for it is in this manner that the employers attempt to rid themselves of cutters so that they, the employers, will find an opportunity to do whatever cutting they may have in the slack season.

This naturally calls for a more, or less rigid control of the shops. The office has been so greatly taxed with these complaints that it is compelled to send out a few committees each week with a view to securing the necessary evidence and enabling it to impose fines for the violations involved.

Resorts to Costly Methods

One particular firm having resorted to every means conceivable to succeed in discharging its cutter and having failed, shut up his plant, saying that he was going out of business. About a week or two later he opened up a new shop and hired a set of workers.

The cutter, thinking that the firm really did give up business turned in his working card and set about securing a new job. In the meantime, this firm applied for a settlement, promising to hire a cutter at the time of his signing the agreement. When the cutter who was discharged found the location of the new shop and learned of its opening up it was already impossible to reinstate him as the firm had signed up a new agreement. In connection with these cases, that is, the following up of shops, it developed that a certain firm in order

to cut down expenses entered into a secret agreement with the two cutters in its employ in which it was agreed that they would work under substandard union conditions.

There was sufficient work for the employment of a third and perhaps a fourth cutter by this firm. However, the firm was afraid that in the event of the employment of a third or fourth cutter the new ones hired might inform the union of the conditions under which the cutters worked. On the other hand, the work was so great in quantity that the two men could not handle it.

Committee Begins Investigation 5 a.m.

The cutters therefore agreed to go in to work after the regular working hours. Fearing that to report to work on a Saturday would cause immediate detection, since the committees sent by the office were active on Saturdays, they decided to come in on Sunday.

However, the men must have known that the office also sends out committees on Sundays. Hence they hit upon what they thought was the safest time to report to work, a time when workers, particularly in the garment industry, seldom come in to work unless it is for the express violation of working conditions.

They timed their entrance into the shop on Sunday at 6 A. M. And for about a period of eight months they succeeded in dodging detection. But no condition of this sort can go on forever no matter how cleverly the plans are laid. Last Sunday, May 16th, therefore, the violation having come to the attention of the writer, he ordered a committee of five members of Local 10 to station themselves in front of the shop in question at six o'clock in the morning.

One of the committeemen, desiring to be certain of apprehending the men, reported at 4:45 A. M.; the second reported at 5 A. M. and the third came a few minutes later. And for four hours the men waited in the dreary rain.

It almost seemed to them that they would be disappointed. But their determination to have their efforts crowned with success impelled them to wait until about nine o'clock in the morning. Just about when their patience was exhausted the two cutters entered the hallway of the building.

They were immediately stopped and their only answer to the question as to what they were doing there on a Sunday was a hemming and hawing. Their reporting at nine o'clock, it developed, was due to the weather. The office does not doubt that these men were in the habit of reporting to work on Sundays at six in the morning.

The names of the cutters as well as the firm are omitted here for the reason that the Executive Board has not yet handled the case.

Partnership Brought to Light

Another form of violations frequently handled by the Executive Board is the connections of some members of Local 10 in a business way with the firms by whom they allege they are employed. At one time the only means

of precaution taken by members of the union who entered into partnerships in order to avoid detection was silence.

But as to the legal element of their affiliations, little was done to hide them. Partnership papers were drawn up in the formal manner and drawings were entered in the ledger books. And when an investigation was made detection was a simple matter.

Lately, however, those guilty of retaining membership in the union while being employers have learned that the legal aspect was too easily resorted to by the union in its effort to compel employers to employ only legitimate union workers. What is being done now is that mere names, or, as they are commonly known, dummies, are being used in the drawing up of the legal papers, omitting the names of the actual owners.

Nevertheless, the Executive Board manages to secure the necessary evidence, or during the course of the transaction of business the real owners cannot avoid making some reference to their real identity. This is brought to light by their activities in the shop, that is, in their relations with the rest of the workers, or during the course of stock-taking.

Executive Board Honors Active Member

Last Saturday night, May 15th, the Executive Board tendered to Brother Charles Siegel, one of the cutters called out on strike against the firm of Maurice Rentner, in Moskowitz's Restaurant, 76 Second Avenue, a dinner upon his home-coming. It will be recalled that this brother was jailed on a charge by a strike-breaker.

In addition to the guest of honor and Mrs. Siegel, there were present the officers of the local, the executive board members and the cutters who originally went out on strike against this firm.

Manager Dubinsky welcomed Siegel in the name of the membership of Local 10. He said during the course of his remarks that when he learned that it was Siegel who was thus victimized he felt certain that it would not break his spirit. He knew him to be a sincere and conscientious trade unionist and that to types of his sort such an experience as he underwent serves but as an encouragement to greater activity.

Dubinsky said that it was activities by men of Siegel's rather that give influence and prestige to the organization and that they have made possible a membership growth of 55,000 in this city alone, making it an economic and political power. He said that the gathering of the officers and the strikers was eloquent testimony to Siegel's service to the union.

Laud His Activities

The manager then introduced the writer who, during the course of his remarks, said that the spirit manifested at the dinner was in accord with the spirit displayed on the picket line by the striking cutters who were present. When the strike was called, he pointed out, there was the same response as has always characterized members of Local 10.

Samuel Preminger, Manager of the Downtown Office of the Joint Board, in his address, pointed to the recent general strike in England, during the course of which, he said, no arrests were made. And, he said, such ex-

periences as Siegel's will only serve to urge the cutters on to greater activity and solidification.

Brother Isadore Nagler, reminded the gathering that it was Mrs. Siegel more than anyone else who suffered. He said that picketing to him was no novelty, having been an officer of the picket committee in the last general strike. He therefore can appreciate Siegel's feelings when he was forced to be confined for a period of about twenty-five days while not being guilty of any crime.

For a moment, when Brother David Fruhling spoke and when he said he was going to sentence Siegel, there was apprehension. However, when he finally said that "I sentence you, Brother Charles Siegel, on behalf of the Executive Board, to two weeks' vacation," there was a sigh of relief.

When he rose to speak it was apparent to everyone that Siegel was deeply moved. For he expressed it in his first few words when he said that he felt he did not deserve the honors showered upon him. He briefly related his experiences and said that he knew Local 10 did everything possible to prevent his incarceration and that when there was no other way out he settled down courageously and wrote to the Executive Board that there was no need for any apprehension. He assured those gathered that he felt in no way disgraced and that he is at the service of the union.

The activities displayed by the strikers, Philip Ansel, President of Local 10, said, were an instance of the soundness of a union whose members hold firmly to the practical principles of unionism and do not waste their energy in attempting to climb to the stars.

Do Not Feel Discouraged

Executive Board Member Max Stokley said that as now no disgrace in Siegel's experience but looked upon it rather as an honor—one that every trade unionist ought to be proud of. He urged him not to falter in his work but to go on.

Executive Board Member Julius Kwait said that there was no need to encourage Siegel because having worked together with him in a shop some time he knows Siegel's is the kind of spirit that cannot be broken. Chairman of the Executive Board Brother Jacobs said in his opening remarks that no progress can be made without some form of sacrifice. He said that the gathering was in recognition of Siegel's activities and welcomed him in the name of the Executive Board.

Among the colleagues of Siegel who spoke were Morris Rogoff, David Spivack and Blockerman. They said that Siegel's experience, and as it might have been in so far as his family is concerned, will not act as a detriment to the activities of the members of the union for the improvement of conditions. One of them expressed the hope that steps will be taken by the union to prevent the recurrence of such an incident.

During the course of the dinner Brother and Mrs. Siegel were presented with a splendid basket of flowers as a personal gift from the strikers and officers.

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CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

SPECIAL MEETING Monday, May 24th

Purpose: Report on Governor's Special Mediation Commission

At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place

Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.

Waldman & Lieberman LAWYERS

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